

Message Text

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SUBJECT: SOVIET REPLY TO SYG'S LETTER ON MIDDLE EAST PEACE
CONFERENCE

REF: (A) USUN 592 (NOTAL) (B) USUN 300 (NOTAL)

1. SECRETARIAT AFTERNOON FEBRUARY 18 CIRCULATED AS AN
OFFICIAL DOCUMENT (S/11985) TEXT OF FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO'S
REPLY TO SECRETARY-GENERAL'S LETTER OF JANUARY 27 CONCERNING
NEXT STEPS IN MIDDLE EAST. TEXT IS IDENTICAL IN SUBSTANCE
TO THAT TRANSMITTED IN REF A, BUT CONTAINS NUMEROUS
EDITORIAL CHANGES.

2. FOLLOWING IS REVISED TEXT OF GROMYKO'S LETTER DATED
FEBRUARY 12:

QUOTE YOUR MESSAGE TO THE CO-CHAIRMEN OF THE GENEVA PEACE
CONFERENCE ON THE MIDDLE EAST IN CONNEXION WITH THE RESULTS
OF THE CONSIDERATION OF THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM IN THE
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SECURITY COUNCIL HAS BEEN CAREFULLY CONSIDERED. YOUR INI-

TIATIVE IS DULY APPRECIATED IN MOSCOW AND WE SHARE YOUR CONCERN AT THE PERSISTING TENSION IN THE AREA OF THE MIDDLE EAST, WHICH REPRESENTS A DANGER TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE. IT IS QUITE EVIDENT THAT ISRAEL'S CONTINUING OCCUPATION OF THE ARAB TERRITORIES AND ITS DISREGARD OF THE LEGITIMATE NATIONAL RIGHTS OF THE ARAB PEOPLE OF PALESTINE REMAIN FRAUGHT WITH THE THREAT OF NEW MILITARY EXPLOSION, THE CONSEQUENCES OF WHICH MAY SERIOUSLY AFFECT THE WHOLE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. SUCH A COURSE WOULD BE IN THE INTERESTS ONLY OF THOSE WHO WOULD LIKE TO USE THE LACK OF A SETTLEMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS AND THE ABSENCE OF A LASTING PEACE IN THE AREA FOR THEIR OWN NARROW PURPOSES.

THE FACT THAT ISRAEL AND THOSE WHO SUPPORT IT CONTINUE THEIR EFFORTS TO KEEP THE WHOLE PROBLEM OF THE MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT DEADLOCKED CANNOT BUT CAUSE CONCERN. THE RESULTS OF THE RECENT CONSIDERATION OF THIS QUESTION IN THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL TESTIFY TO THIS. THAT ORGAN WAS UNABLE TO REACH A DECISION BECAUSE OF THE POSITION OF ONE OF THE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, ALTHOUGH THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF ITS MEMBERS DEFINITELY SPOKE OUT IN FAVOUR OF SPECIFIC MEASURES TO ACHIEVE A COMPREHENSIVE POLITICAL SETTLEMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM.

IN THE COURSE OF THE CONSIDERATION OF THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AS WELL AS IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL, THE MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS, WITH VERY FEW EXCEPTIONS, CLEARLY EXPRESSED THEIR OPINION THAT GENUINE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS IMPOSSIBLE UNLESS ISRAELI TROOPS ARE WITHDRAWN FROM ALL THE ARAB TERRITORIES OCCUPIED BY ISRAEL IN 1967 AND UNLESS THE INALIENABLE NATIONAL RIGHTS OF THE ARAB PEOPLE OF PALESTINE ARE SAFEGUARDED AND THE RIGHT OF ALL STATES OF THE REGION TO INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE AND DEVELOPMENT IS GUARANTEED.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SITUATION AROUND THE PROBLEM OF A MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT HAS CLEARLY DEMONSTRATED THAT THERE IS NO OTHER RELIABLE WAY TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT ON ALL THE QUESTIONS INVOLVED IN A MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT EXCEPT THROUGH THE RESUMPTION OF THE WORK OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE - THE UNCLASSIFIED

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INTERNATIONAL FORUM SPECIALLY CREATED FOR THAT PURPOSE. THAT CONFERENCE SHOULD, OF COURSE, BE WELL PREPARED AND ALL THE PARTIES DIRECTLY CONCERNED, INCLUDING THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION AS WELL AS THE USSR AND THE UNITED STATES, AS THE CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE CONFERENCE, SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN ITS WORK.

WITHOUT THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PALESTINIANS, THE GENEVA

CONFERENCE WOULD BE NOT A FORUM FOR BUSINESS-LIKE NEGOTIATIONS
BUT A CAMOUFLAGE AIMED AT CREATING A SEMBLANCE OF NEGOTIATIONS.
I BELIEVE YOU WILL AGREE THAT SUCH A TURN OF EVENTS WOULD
DO NOTHING BUT HARM SINCE LACK OF PROGRESS WOULD LEAD TO A
FURTHER AGGRAVATION OF THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST
AND AROUND IT.

THE SOVIET UNION CONSIDERS THAT THOSE GOVERNMENTS WHICH
IMPEDE THE CONVENING OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, TAKE UPON
THEMSELVES THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CONSEQUENCES OF SUCH
A POLICY.

THE UNITED NATIONS, WITH ITS HIGH INTERNATIONAL PRESTIGE,
CAN AND SHOULD MAKE AN IMPORTANT STATEMENT ON THE QUESTIONS
RELATING TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JUST AND LASTING PEACE
IN THE MIDDLE EAST. YOU MAY REST ASSURED THAT THE SOVIET
UNION, FOR ITS PART, WILL CONTINUE TO DO EVERYTHING IN ITS
POWER TO ACHIEVE THIS GOAL. SUCH IS THE POSITION OF PRINCIPLE
OF THE USSR TO WHICH IT WILL FIRMLY ADHERE. UNQUOTE
MOYNIHAN

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